

Polit. Pamph. & vol 1107

LETTER

TO A

TORY FRIEND.

UPON

The Present Critical Situation of
OUR AFFAIRS;

WHEREIN

Every Objection of the Disaffected to the
Present Government is fully answered; the
fond Distinction of a King *de Facto*, abso-
lutely refuted; and his Majesty King George
demonstrated to be King of *Great-Britain, &c.*
de Jure, in the strongest Sense of the Words.



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L E T T E R
T O A
T O R Y F R I E N D , &c.

London, Oct. 1. 1745.

S I R,

I T seems then it is the Fate of
Britons to be forced at every
twenty or thirty Years Period,
to take the Sword and the Pen in
our Defence, to maintain our natu-
ral Right to the Privileges of reason-
able Creatures, to prove that our
Souls are our own, and that the
French, or their Monarch have no
Authority to set a King over us.
But is it not strange, that a Court
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can arrive at such an insolent Pitch of Pride and Arrogance, as to offer these Indignities to a People entirely independent of it? Is it not yet stranger, that a Nation, so affronted and insulted, should extol the Grandeur, affect the Language, and ape the Fashion of these haughty Intruders? Yea, is it not most monstrous of all, if there should be found among us, who wish their coming, and invite them over. I join with you in hopes, that the Number of these unnatural Traitors is inconsiderable, and their Power despicable; but 'tis evident that our Enemies are of another Opinion. The vast Expence they put themselves to in their late Embarkations, and their present Attempt upon *Scotland*, are a Demonstration, that their Intelligence is of a different Import; and to confess the Truth, has not the current Language and Behaviour of our Countrymen, for some Years past, given

given but too much Life and Encouragement to their Expectations of Success ?

I am very far, as far as you can wish, from pronouncing of the *Murmurers* in general, that they are all Favourers of a *French* Interest, Papists in their Hearts, and Subjects of the Pretender : But should you not inform us then, what it is you aim at, and what you really intend by all this Clamour and Out-cry ? Ought you not to shew us the Reasons of your perpetual Discontent at every Step and Measure of the Government ? Why War, Peace, Alliance, Independance, *Austria*, no *Austria*, Land Interest, Trade Interest, are always, and at every Turn unseasonable, when they, who are undoubtedly the most proper Judges of them, declare them expedient : Nor should you conceal the View and Design with which so many idle and scandalous Stories, injurious to
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the King, odious to good Manners, and reproachful to common Sense, are swallowed with Greediness, and propagated with Industry. Is there not some latent Cause or Mystery, that every Person of what Party or Character soever, becomes obnoxious to your Jealousies and Insults, by being taken into a Share of the Administration? that the very Suspicion of Zeal and Affection to his Majesty, is sufficient to turn an Idol to Reproach? That the same Propositions, and the same Maxims, which were good and self-evident in the Mouth of a Patriot, as you affectedly term all those who steadily oppose the Court, are false and detestable when he utters them as the Friend or Counsellor of his King?

Take notice, I pray you, that I am not going to enter the Lists with those infamous Scribblers, who eat the Bread of Lying and Sedition; who have no Principle but Gain, and
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in whom every Religion or Government upon Earth is of equal Estimation. Such Fellows will make no scruple of denying the plainest Facts ; nor would it be the least Violence to their Foreheads or their Conscience to assert upon Occasion, that the Sun never shone in *Spain*, or that King *George* has no Enemy in *England*.

But I am writing to a Man of Sense, Education, and Honour ; and make no doubt of a candid and ingenious Correspondence. I consider you as a true and sincere Professor of the Christian Religion, according to the Form established in this Kingdom ; as one who really believes that Gospel upon which he has been sworn, with a conscientious Veneration for those solemn and tremendous Oaths he has voluntarily taken, and by which he stands entitled to, and actually enjoys the Protection of the Government he
lives

lives under. And is it then consistent with your Conscience, and these sacred Obligations, with the same Tongue that made them, to defeat the avowed Ends and Purposes for which they were enjoined? Can that Allegiance be *willing, true, and from the Heart*, which is accompanied with Malice, Despight and Contempt? Is it the part of a loyal Christian Subject, with so much Greediness, to snatch at, and with so much Pleasure to disperse every defamatory Libel, which comes in his way? To censure and villify every Motion of the State, and to take Joy and Satisfaction in reproaching and ridiculing even Majesty itself? You are taught by those Scriptures for which you, seriously I hope, profess so great a Veneration, that the Persons of Kings are Sacred, that they are *the Ordinances of God*, that *you are not to speak evil of them*, but to give them all due Honour,

Honour, and to be subject to them for Conscience sake: And is the divine Author of these peremptory Commands to be mocked, or trifled with? Will he suffer his Laws to be quibbled with, and rendered of none Effect by the crafty Sophistry of cunning and designing Men? Will it be an Excuse or Defence before his all-piercing Eye, that Treason has not been spoken, nor Sedition excited; but by Inuendo's, Intimations, obscure Hints, and bare Wishes? Pardon this Freedom, as you are a Man of Sense, and well acquainted with the Ways of the World; you cannot but know, that there is too much Ground for these Expostulations. Weigh them well, therefore, and answer them to your own Soul.

A Fool, indeed, will satisfy himself with a common Defence. ---He has never been in a Plot, nor held Correspondence with the public

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Enemies : He has never contributed
 a single Penny towards the Subsist-
 ance or Advancement of the Pre-
 tender, nor so much as drank his
 Health or Success: --- But one of your
 Penetration need not be instructed,
 that a Man may be a Traitor without
 the Form of entering into a Conspi-
 racy, or signing an Association. It is a
 Maxim in Law, as well as Reason
 and Religion, That whoever violently
 commits an ill thing, must answer
 for the Consequences of it. And
 by this Maxim it is most evident,
 that every Person who joins his Voice
 to the seditious Cry of those, whose
 Intention it is to run down their So-
 vereign, is implicitly involved in
 their treasonable Purposes ; is Par-
 taker of their Sin, and Sharer in the
 Guilt. Every Action, Word, or
 Gesture, which aims at weakening
 the King's Title, ruining his Repu-
 tation, and subverting his Interest, is
 undermining the Throne whereon he
 is

is fitting ; and as the Transition is natural, and even necessary, from despising one Master to cleave to another, to alienate the Hearts of his Subjects from him, is but very little different from enlisting them into the Service of the Pretender.

“ For, Can there be true Obedi-
 “ ence where there is not so much
 “ as Respect? Will their Knees bow
 “ whilst their Hearts insult, and their
 “ Actions submit, whilst their Ap-
 “ prehensions and Tongues rebel?--”
Jacobites, I own, and professed Re-
 cusants, have this to say for them-
 selves: ----That they are *sincere* in
 their Mischief, and consistent in their
 Behaviour ---. But what shall we
 think of those *Jurors* (are there not
 too many such among us)? who, for
 Fifty Years together, have been con-
 tinually running the same Round of
 political Detraction: Telling the
 same idle Tales over and over again,
 repeating their Scurrilities, and poi-
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soning the Affections of the People with their Jealousies and evil Surmises ---- Yet all this while pretending (could they persuade us to take their Words for it) that they reverence the Oaths they have taken, and do *not intend the least Violation of the Settlement*. ---- But is not this a Protest against Fact? Is not the whole Tenor of their Conversation of a quite different Aspect? And, do not their own Tongues make them to fall into that contemptible Character of self-condemned, or state Heretics? For this I must affirm, that let them make what Profession they please of their loyal Affections, and good Intentions, their Actions at least, the truest and best Indications of a Man's real Sentiments and Designs, are very suspicious; they use the Language of Enemies: In short, they go every Length they are able, and do every thing they dare do, were they never
so

so much in earnest to serve the Pretender, and to advance his Interest. And is it not manifest, that in this very Sense their Words and Actions have been all along construed by the professed Enemies of our Country and Religion? Would the politic *French* have put themselves to so great an Expence, as they actually did in their late Imbarkations; would they be continually threatening us with Invasions; would they actually trust their Troops upon our Shores, did not the common Language and Behaviour of too many of our own Countrymen encourage them to hope for that Success from a murmuring, discontented, and divided Nation, which they never could expect from their own Strength, however formidable their Power may be to their Neighbours upon the Continent?

As you have undertaken to be an Advocate for these Gentlemen, these constant Declaimers against all our
public

public Measures ; from you I may reasonably expect to be told, what are their real Designs and Purposes, and what Ends they seriously purpose to themselves in joining, as they have constantly done, and still continue to do, with the professed Enemies of the Establishment. You say, indeed, their *Opposition is only to the Ministry* ----. It may perhaps be so in some few Instances---. But as this happens to be the old thread-bare Cant of every Malcontent, and Traitor, since the first Institution of Civil Polity ; by what Marks shall we discover its Sincerity ? What Ministry would they have ; or where are the Men, or Party, that might be so happy as to please them ? They have tried them round ; they have risen in their Out-cries upon every Alteration, and still the Persons in Favour or Credit with their Prince, are most obnoxious ----. But, my Friend, what a strange Perverseness of
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of Thinking is this ! That Loyalty should be a Crime ! that as soon as a Man becomes a Friend of his King, and is taken into his nearer Confidence and Service, he should straightway commence an Enemy to his Country ! Is it so then, that these two Interests are really incompatible ? Can the Head (unless it was indeed as weak as some of these Mumurers wickedly insinuate) be supposed to be at variance with the Members ? Can it be imagined, that his Majesty can have any thing so near his Heart, as the Wealth and Prosperity of his *English* Subjects, who are the Essence of his Glory and Power ? Can he entertain one single Wish to the Prejudice of Dominions entailed upon his Posterity ?

But *Extension of Prerogative*, and a *Dread of Arbitrary Power*, are what have produced these dismal Apprehensions, these gloomy Forebodings, and perpetual Struggles with the Court.

Court. --- But are you really in earnest, when you declame in this manner? And do we hear this from you? Are these the Objections of Men who are professed Admirers of the Principles of *Laud* and *Sacheverel*? But letting that pass: "---- Let us question, as
 " a good Man among the *Jews* formerly did, --- Whose Ox has our
 " King taken, or whose Ass has he
 " taken; or whom has he defrauded, whom has he oppressed, or of
 " whose Hands has he received any
 " Bribes, to blind his Eyes there-
 " with?" I desire to be informed of any one Stretch of Power, one Act of Violence, one Invasion of civil or religious Liberty, one unparliamentary Suspension of Law, or Interruption of Justice, since the Accession of his present Majesty to the Throne. --- Yea, I might challenge all our *Murmurers* to point out a single Reign since the Conquest, under which an *Englishman* would rather

rather have chosen to have lived, than under the present ; any one single Reign, when the distinct Powers of the Crown were more wisely settled, more precisely limited, or when those Limitations were more religiously observed and adhered to.

But the perpetual Burden of the doleful Song is *Standing Armies, Bribery and Corruption* ---. These are sad Complaints indeed, tho' they sound somewhat oddly in those Mouths which, in reality, have been the continual Occasion of them. Cash, Credit, Interest, Invention, every thing has been employ'd, to increase the Power and Numbers of those who obstruct the royal Measures ---. This is true Patriotism, this is virtuous and praise-worthy ---. But if a loyal Subject be enabled to withstand these violent Contests, by public Reward, or private Bounty ; if his superior Abilities be distinguished by those high Titles which they may

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have

have deserved, all this is Iniquity, Tyranny, Ruin, and Misery. Strange Conclusions these, and utterly subversive of all Government. For, whom should the King delight to honour, but those who love and honour him? Whom ought he to advance to Places of Trust and Profit, the Enemies of his Family? or those rather, whom he has tried and found faithful in the most perilous Circumstances? whose Principles lead them constantly to pursue the true Interest of the Kingdom, in strict Conjunction with that of their royal Master ———? But such is the Eloquence of declaiming Demagogues, and such the Metal of which their Arguments are coined; light, and false ——. A Neighbour Kingdom, envious of our Prosperity, jealous of our Greatness, Persecutors of our Religion, ambitious to enflame us, and, in all Respects, our most implacable Enemies, have numerous
Armies

Armies in constant Readiness to invade and attack us ---. Therefore, should our Sovereign disband his Forces, and trust the Safety of himself and his Kingdoms, it may be, to the weak Efforts of an undisciplined Rabble ---. Numbers of those who enjoy the Peace and Plenty of our Land, are in a standing Conspiracy to set up a Pretender : Many have, 'tis to be fear'd, invited him over with Promises of a powerful Defection to him ; Thousands have unwillingly been beguiled into the Notions and Murmurs of Malcontents ---, Therefore has his Majesty no Danger to be apprehensive of, nor the least Occasion to be at the Charge of providing Troops for the Kingdom's Defence --- ? How often has it been said, by these same Gentlemen, What has *England* to do with the Continent ? We need not put ourselves to the unnecessary Charge of Land Forces, the Sea is

our proper Element; there only are we concerned ---. Let the desperate *Austrians* take care of themselves; let the *Dutch* fall Victims to their own Avarice and Phlegm, Why should we put ourselves to an immense useless Expence to serve our ungrateful Neighbours? But is this the Voice of Reason and true Policy? or is it not rather the affected Outcry of Party and Faction? 'Tis true, my Neighbour's House is yet betwixt me and the Fire, but how long will it continue so? see the Flames already threaten to lay hold of it, in spite of all our Care and Precaution, and is just, just at our own Thresholds: " — Our Outworks are attacked, yet you tell us 'tis too soon
 " for us to increase our Forces, and
 " to put ourselves upon our Guard---
 " But will you not with much more
 " Reason reply, when the *Austrian*
 " *Netherlands* are wholly swallowed up, as is nearly the Case
 " at

“ at present ? When *Holland* is ac-
 “ tually invaded——, To what Pur-
 “ pose do you think of imploying
 “ your Forces Abroad now ? Are
 “ not the *French* already Masters of
 “ the whole Barrier ? Are they not
 “ in Possession of the best Ports ?
 “ Where will you land your Troops,
 “ or to what Use will you put them ?
 “ But does not such Language as
 “ this plainly shew the Intention of
 “ the Author ? Such would be their
 “ Discourse, and these their Argu-
 “ ments, did they actually intend to
 “ deliver us blind, bound Hand and
 “ Foot, into the Enemy’s Hands--”.

But leaving these wise Disputers
 to their sagacious Conclusions, let
 us consider with all that Coolness
 and Impartiality, which the Subject
 requires, the Heavy Charge of *Bri-
 bery* and *Corruption* which you are
 ever bringing against the Govern-
 ment : Let me enquire of you then ;
 can human Power withstand Ne-
 cessity ?

cessity? Or is there any Wisdom less than infinite which can defeat the Operations of natural Causes? Is it possible a Nation, I mean the Majority of any Nation, vicious and extravagant, can be governed by what you affect to call merely *righteous Measures*? A good Prince will be ready to resolve with *David*, that *a Lyar shall not tarry in his House*, and that *he will not know*, (or be concerned with) *a wicked Person*, but, as the World goes, he will find great Difficulties in putting this pious Resolution in Practice. The great Work of Government must go on, Persons must be employed to raise the Supplies, to lead the Armies, to command the Fleets, to manage the Finances, to preside over Courts of Judicature, to inform, advise, assist, and represent the Chief Magistrate in all the numerous Affairs and Offices of State; and where Saints are not to be had, he must make use of Sinners. I

I admit, these latter are unworthy of the Trust or Honour ; but will any Man undertake to name a Majority of such disinterested and conscientious Gentlemen, as will discharge their Duty without worldly Views, and adhere to Virtue without Consideration of the Reward. Is it possible to find out a Set of Patriots so candid and generous, as to expect no Favour or Compensation for those Votes and Applications they know to be absolutely necessary to carry on the ordinary Measures of the Government ? Unhappy are the Times when ill Men are necessary ; but if by their own Address, the Violence of an unwarrantable and constant Opposition to the supreme Power, or the wrong Taste of the People, they happen to be so ; 'tis plain they must be taken in on their own Terms, and won over by that way of Argument, which alone they understand, or will attend unto.

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The rigid *Cato* himself will depart from his inflexible Principles, if he thinks he may thereby put off the Destiny of *Rome* a little longer.

These Observations may be deplorable, but they are founded in Truth ; they are indeed the natural and necessary Consequences of an Increase of Wealth, of that monstrous Luxury which runs through all Orders and Degrees amongst us ; of that Torrent of Prophaneness and Irreligion which over-whelms the whole Nation. I would not be thought to vindicate the Righteousness of such Compliances, but rather to lament the hard Necessity to which the Iniquity of the Times may have driven the Government.

I am glad you have the Prudence to decline entering into a Criticism on the Administration in foreign Affairs, I mean, Treaties, Alliances, Confederacies, Conventions, Articles of Peace, and Declarations of War.

These

These are Questions of great Difficulty, as well as Importance, and too high and mysterious for your Reprehension, or my Defence. It is not for us, who know so very little of the Premises, to draw Conclusions. The Law of *England*, and that of Reason, which is the Law of Nations, have left the Determination of these weighty Points in the Hands of the King with his Council and Parliament; so that for a Country Gentleman, or Clergyman, to take up the Debate, and to pretend to discuss, to censure, or to dictate, is little less insolent, or less ridiculous, than for a blind Man to criticise on Sir *Isaac Newton's* Optics; or, for a Club of West-country Farmers, to dispute of what Sort of Grain is fittest to be sown in the Arable of the Moon.

But, after all that can be said, you seem to set no small Value upon your Party-constancy: " You tread

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" (you

“(you say) but in the Steps of your
 “ Fathers before you ; you go in
 “ company with Men of Credit and
 “ Reputation, in your Country ; you
 “ are of the sound and orthodox
 “ *Quorum*, untainted with the Leaven
 “ of Mass and Conventicle ———”.

These are the Men I would fain
 reconcile to the present Govern-
 ment, and am truly sorry there is
 nothing good enough in my native
 Country to give them Satisfaction,
 and to make them easy and con-
 tented ——— : But what particular
 Malignity is there in your Stars, or
 your Constitutions, that hinders you
 from taking Comfort in God's Bles-
 sings, as well as your Neighbours---
 You have an equal Enjoyment of
 your Estates, a general Protection of
 your Persons and Properties ; you
 follow your Business, your Diversions,
 or Caprices, and all without Disturb-
 ance from arbitrary Power, or the
 least Fear of Gallies, or Dragoons :

You

You go to Church, to Tavern, or to Assembly, just as Devotion or Inclination prompts you : You talk freely, vainly, or saucily of Things or Persons the most sacred, according to the Humour you are in, or the Talents you bear ; nor are you afraid (if Occasion offers) to go to Law with his Majesty himself in his own Courts —. Yet still you must complain — your Fathers before you did it —, your Friends all do it —. It is indeed the Cant of your Fraternity, the Cognizance of your *Party*, the essential Ingredient in your Compositions —. I am sorry to use the Word *Party*, for what is *Party* without Principle ? Division without Distinction ? You freely own your Name is *Tory* ; but by what Forms are you defined, or described ? or what are the Characteristics by which we may know the Gentlemen of your Sect ? We have your solemn Word for it, that you are not *Jacobites*,

bites, nor can I believe you to be so, after your Oaths and Abjurations, without condemning you for Crimes which *Nonjurors* abhor, Hypocrisy and Perjury —. I would gladly take you in with the Friends to the Constitution, and the House of *Ha-*
nover ; but who then could discern you from other loyal Subjects? Let Malcontent Persons say what they will, your Practice will acquit you from this dreaded Imputation. Your whole Life and Conversation, the Pamphlets you read and write, the Tales you tell, the Songs you sing, the Healths you drink, are all Demonstrations of your political Stanchness ; that neither Arguments nor Evidence shall ever be able to bring you over to their Party, of which Custom and Prejudice seem to have given you a natural and mechanical Abhorrence.

Is it a *Commonwealth* then that is at the Heart of these complaining
Honest

Honest Churchmen ? No, this is the most incredible of all : A Church of *England* Man and a Republican are well nigh a Contradiction in Terms. It is a Maxim with you, and, indeed, much better founded than most of yours are, That nothing can uphold the Mitre but the Crown. And as you are not reasonably to be suspected of adopting the Notions of *Holland* or *Geneva*, so neither can you be ignorant, that the Kingdom of *Great Britain* is too far advanced in Luxury, Magnificence, great Estates, and high Titles, to return to a Commonwealth in any Shape whatsoever : That the Envy, Emulation, and Ambition of the Board and popular Nobles, would be a perpetual Occasion of their tearing one another, and their Country in pieces, were they not all subordinate and accountable to one supreme Head.

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Since then your characteristic Opinions (like those of the Free Masons) are a perfect Mystery, you ought in honour fairly to exhibit some Symbol of your Faith, to acquaint us at least with some of the leading and governing Articles of your political Creed, that we may know in what Language to address ourselves to you, and may be able to pay you a Respect suitable to your venerable Antiquity. Your honest Predecessors were open enough in their Declarations, and made no Scruple to declaim publicly for *unlimited Prerogative, passive Obedience, and hereditary Right*, nor to persecute to the Death the Advocates for Liberty, and the Bill of Exclusion---. Thus, as the *Pharisees* of old did but render their Hypocrisy more notorious, *by building the Tombs of those Prophets their Fathers had slain*, even so do ye: Your Fathers slew the Patriots, and ye pretend to adopt their Principles. It was

was no longer since than the last Years of *Queen Anne*, that these arbitrary Maxims (after a total Dejection at the Revolution) rebounded again as high as the Heavens : and the good Lady was told, in many fawning Addresses, that as she was *God's Vicegerent and Representative*, so to him only she owed her Commission ; to him only was accountable for her Actions ; that it was not for her Subjects to censure her Proceedings, or to resist her Commands ; that her Will and Pleasure was the supreme Law : Yea, that you were her Creatures, ever true, faithful and submissive even unto Tyranny and Oppression. These sublime Compliments of a Loyalty infinite, and inextinguishable, are not now to be heard of ; are not once so much as mentioned by you. But if you are the Men, or the Successors of those Men who so lavishly bestowed them at that time, Is it not incumbent upon

upon you candidly to confess, that you have seen your Error, and are become wiser — ? or, at least, to distinguish the Times and Circumstances, and to declare explicitly, that this high Pitch of Zeal is due only to some certain Monarchs of your own Stamp and Genius, only to such or such Branches of the royal Stock, to Princes of some particular Opinions in Religion, or Notions of Government ?

As I can believe any thing, rather than that Men of your general moral Character can be guilty of wilful and known Perjury, I am willing to suppose, that this is the *Delusion*, and that this *strong Delusion* is the feeble Ground of all that apparent Inconsistency in your Conduct, of that Slackness and Remissness in your Duty to your King ; from your own Mouths we have been furnished with broad and frequent Hints to this very Purpose, nor is it possible
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to reconcile your Behaviour to the Religion you profess, or even to common Sense, unless we admit *that you have taken up the Opinion of some essential Change in the Constitution of this Kingdom.* It is the only Apology, I think, that Charity itself can make for your political Conduct, that *you are not entirely satisfied of the Authority that is over you* ; nor have you indeed, some of you at least, been backward (as far as safely you might) to suggest in your own Justification, *that the Crown at present is on quite another Footing ; and that the Powers formerly received from God are now from the People ; that a Possessor, who has not God's Appointment, is only King de Facto, and in such Case all the Oaths or Declarations in the World can oblige no farther than to sit down passive and peaceable, to wait with Patience 'till God shall think fit to assert his Right ; to*

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abstain

abstain from all Conspiracies, and Acts of Violence, 'till the anointed shall come, 'till the Scepter shall return into the Hands of the rightful Heir, who will be King de Jure, and will have a just Title to that high Degree of Honour and Submission, you formerly cryed up so much, and are ready to cry up again as oft as the Object pleases you.

A very notable Apology, a fine Piece of Casuistry this to excuse and justify political Schisms; but the worst of it is, that all this while the very *Principle*, which is the fruitful Parent of these wise Inferences, *has no Being in Nature*. I say, the very Grounds of all your Conclusions are absolutely false and chimerical; I deny, that there is any such Thing in the World as a King of the Lord's anointing; I deny, that any one mortal Man can have a *Right* to reign over any Nation, any farther than he is qualified by the Laws of
that

that Nation ; I maintain, that his present Majesty has *that Right*, and all that *Right* to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, that can be pleaded or pretended ; that he is as truly and properly a *King de Jure* as any Monarch that ever sat upon our Throne, or any Monarch in the World.

In the romantic Days of King *Charles II*, a Leaven was laid, whose baleful Influence still continues to four succeeding Generations. The happy Restoration of the King and Constitution, the Returns of Peace, Honours, and Preferments, the inexpressible Pleasure of Triumph and Revenge had altogether so transported the Minds of the proscribed Cavaliers and persecuted Churchmen, that no Bounds could be set to their Exultings and Acclamations. Self-Interest, and Ambition for Favour and Preferments, added Art to Nature, and both together brought

forth such a Litter of studied Compliments, slavish Adulations, and Court-Idolatries, as were hardly ever heard before, either in this, or indeed in any other Kingdom.

The old Panegyrics addressed to the most absolute Tyrants were ransacked for Encomiums ; all the Proceedings of God himself in designating and anointing Kings for his own People were applied and appropriated to the then reigning Family ; yea, every Text wherein either Jews or Christians are commanded in general to yield Obedience and submit themselves *to the higher Powers, or the supreme Legislature* was sophistically restrained to the Person of the King, *who, said they, has his Commission from none but Heaven, who is the Image and Representative of the Omnipotent, from whom he immediately claims his Title to Sovereignty ; a Title to him and his Heirs for ever indefeasible, unalienable,*

alienable, unlimitable. But as all Flattery is most pernicious to the Objects of it, it was not long before those unfortunate Princes, who had been persuaded to look upon themselves *as Gods*, were sadly convinced, that they must fall *like Men*. The whole Nation arose, and demonstrated, that they were not to be wheedled or declaimed out of their Senses; and even the Orators and Champions in the wretched Cause were not the last (when it came to their own Turn to practise) to renounce and abjure it; but conscious, as it were, of their Shame, they have ever since continued out of Humour, and, like Persons unfortunately obliged to discover a private Sore, they hate those to whom they were beholden for a Cure, after so copious a Profusion of their Incense upon the Court Altars, they are enraged to find they have no greater Share in the Blessings of Pre-
ferment.

ferment. They hope, could they but get the Cards once more into their Hands, to play their Game with greater Dexterity; they seem to pant after a lucky Opportunity to return to their old Panegyrics and Fools Paradise.

But if it be possible for you, Sir, to think without Prejudice, or indeed could I be so happy as to persuade you to think at all upon the Subject with Seriousness and Attention, I don't doubt but I should easily convince you, that all these Schemes of *absolute Power*, (*absolute in the Professor absolutely hereditary*) are mere Dreams and Chimeras, the Invention of ambitious Sycophants, the Entertainment of Ignorance; and that *it is the natural Right of all Civil Societies, as at first to chuse their own Forms of Government, and to appoint their Governors, so after such Settlement (in a legal*
Way,

Way, and by common Consent) to amend, strengthen and improve it.

For in whatever Light we take the first and original View of the human Race, whether the Account that *Moses* has given of the Creation, (which Christians cannot doubt, nor Infidels refute) or whether the Hypothesis of *Egyptian* Priests, and the Dreams of *Democritus* be laid down as the Basis of our Enquiries, the Result will be exactly the same, we shall find it to be still an Axiom, or first Principle, that *all Men are by Nature equal and independant*, that no one mortal Man can pretend a Right of Rule and Dominion over his Brethren. As we are all of the same Species, we have all equally the same Parts and Ingredients in our Composition, with the same Infirmities as well as Faculties both of Body and Mind. It follows therefore of Necessity, that if any Individual of this Species sets up a Claim
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of Jurisdiction, he ought to produce some Patent from the Creator, or some visible Mark of Authority stamped upon him by Nature. This is too evident to be denied ; for an invisible Commission is a Non-Entity, it is the Commission of *Bedlam* Monarchs, the Inspiration of Quakers and Methodists ; every one may pretend it within, but none discern it without.

If *bodily Strength* was to be the Criterion of civil Jurisdiction, it would often happen that the greatest Brute of any Society would be the Head of it ; as *Subtlety of Mind* would confer the same Honour on the most errant Knave. It cannot be denied, indeed, that these are the Talents that have very often, in Fact, exalted their Possessors to Sovereignty ; but the Slaughters and Desolations, which have constantly attended Decisions of this Nature, are a Demonstration, that they ought
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not to confer a Title to Dominion, nor were ever intended so to do by the All-good as well as All-wise Creator. One would readily enough consent that *Virtue* should be invested with the Robes of Authority, and *Dominion be founded in Grace*. But even here we shall be as much at a Loss as ever ; for as it is easier to counterfeit *Virtue* than either *Strength* or *Wisdom*, the Number of Competitors would be still greater, and it will be impossible for us to make the Election without Inspiration, or some open miraculous Designation from Heaven.

You see, Sir, the bare Mention of all such Pretences to *Right* of Sovereignty is enough to expose them : But there was a Scheme advanced in the last Century, which thro' Novelty, and the Art and Pomp of Rhetoric, with which it was adorned, was received and propagated with an Affectation com-

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mon to a fashionable Hypothesis. I mean the *Patriarchal Scheme*, where Royalty is founded on Primogeniture, and the *First-born surviving* is the Heir to Monarchy, and has a natural *Right* inseparable from his Person, to give Law to the Junior-Generations. As there is not a Word or single Hint in all Religion, natural or revealed, to support this Notion, as it cannot pretend to derive its Being from any Law either of Nature or Nations, the Authors, in whose warm Imagination it was hatched, should have shewn its Expediency, or at least that it is possible to put it in practice. For my own Part, if this Rule be admitted in the Gross, and with Regard to the whole Species, I can't see how there can possibly be above one lawful and rightful Sovereign, the Heir of King *Adam*, upon the whole Globe of the Earth; and whether to find out this extraordinary

ordinary Person, or to persuade the Nations universally to do him Homage is the greatest Difficulty, is for such Politicians only to determine. In the mean time, would they not do well to consider, in what a wretched State they have left their Species, all in a State of Uncertainty, Ten Thousand to One in a State of Rebellion, in a State of paying Honour, Homage, Allegiance, taking their Oaths, and making their Prayers for their several Usurpers. For I cannot see the least Reason to suppose, that this general Law (if ever it had a Being) can ever lose its Force; that there can be so many *right Heirs* of Father *Adam*, as there are hereditary Monarchs; or that a general Law, which at most can entitle only *one* to the whole, can be pleaded to justify so many Particulars each in the Possession of his Part.

But there is no End of Contradictions, when once we allow ourselves to argue from wrong Principles: Admitting, therefore, that every single Nation is to consider its first Planter, Founder, or Invader as *Adam's* Representative, and bound moreover to accept the Heir of such Leader, as the Heir of the World, and their rightful Prince, even in this Case the Matter would be very little mended, nor the Titles of most of the Princes of the Universe a Jot better established.

However, they need not be under any great Apprehensions, if they be only permitted to keep their Possessions, 'till such Time as Heralds, Genealogists, and Antiquaries have found out and agreed upon the *de Jure Claimant*; 'till they have laid down a Categorical Resolution of these necessary Questions, Who were the *first Planters* or Inhabitants of each respective Country? By what Bands

Bands or *Colonies* they have been since invaded, ejected, or subdued? Which is to be reckoned *the Chief of those Bands?* Who the rightful *Sovereign of that Chief Band?* Who at this Day is his *true Heir?* and, above all, these learned Gentlemen are to demonstrate, *What Right* the petty Sovereign, or rather Captain had to make this Invasion, or to seize on other Mens Lands and Labours, and how the bold Adventurer, (such as *Hengist* for Instance) who was no more than an Usurper of a Country, or Province, could intail on his Posterity a *divine Right* to the whole Kingdom or Empire? If Primogeniture alone can give a legal Title to Empire, 'tis probable there never was a legal Government since *Cain* was driven from his Father. But all this is Stuff, impracticable, Nonsense! 'Tis certain therefore, that neither Strength of Body, nor superior Cunning, nor Virtue, nor

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Fatherhood can possibly confer civil Authority ; and that as all Mankind are born equal to, and independant of, each other, nothing but their own Act and Consent can make them Subjects to the Will of another. But I shall pursue this Point no farther at present, and perhaps what I have already written upon it may be deemed too much, as the Origin of Government has been so excellently well handled by Mr. *Locke*. You will give me leave therefore to refer you to that great Master's Treatises upon this Subject, as well as to the late Author of the *Historical Essay upon the Anglo-Saxon Constitution*, while with all possible Brevity I draw the following necessary Conclusions from what has been already observed.

First ; That the great End of Government, and its *supreme Law*, is *Salus Populi* ; that as it was the Contrivance and Erection of the Subject,

ject, it was erected, and should ever be destined to their common Good. If a Governor pretends that the People are his, or made for his Use, it is his Business to prove either that he made them himself, or that *God* made them for him: For no Man in his sober Senses will believe, he could ever get such an absolute Property in them by any Act of their own. As they, and only they, had the Creation of their Sovereign, it is natural to suppose (we cannot indeed without the utmost Absurdity suppose otherwise) that he was created for their Use. For a greater Ignominy cannot be objected to a rational Species, than to suggest that they have voluntarily enlisted into the Service, and yoked themselves into the Teams of any Mortal like themselves, for the bare Pleasure of carrying his Burthens, or lugging his Carriages. Nay, a greater Affront cannot, I think, be easily

easily offered to our common Father and Creator, than to pretend his Command for arbitrary Power. 'Tis little less than Blasphemy to affirm it agreeable to his Will; that so many Millions of his Children and Creatures, made after his own Image, should be the Chattels, the Machines, the Footballs of a few domineering Tyrants; that they should be abandoned and devoted to the Lust, Rage, Avarice, or Caprice, of one of their own Number, and perhaps only distinguished from the rest by more violent Passions, or superior Vanity, or probably by less Regard to Truth and Justice.—But these are the Doctrines of Parasites and Traitors; they are the Ruin of Societies, and turn the World upside-down. As Government is the Edifice of reasonable Beings, whose first Principle is Self-preservation, the Consequence is as certain as any Proposition in

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Eucled can be, that your own Weal is the End of its Erection. For these Ends has our all-gracious God approved and ratified it, and to these Ends should it ever faithfully be applied and administred.

Secondly, Another Observation, which offers itself from the foregoing Part of this Dissertation is, *That all Government is in its own Nature conventual, that Authority is conveyed and received upon Compact, and that Protection and Submission are the mutual Conditions of the civil Obligation.*—This is as evident as a first Principle; because it cannot possibly be conceived that any reasonable Sett of Beings, erecting an Office for their common Benefit, will fail of erecting it but on such Terms, or Articles, as to secure that Benefit. He who wills the *End* must necessarily be supposed to will the *Means* likewise. Were no such Articles, therefore expressly
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stipulated, this will make no Alteration in the Matter before us, they must, in the very Nature of the Thing, be supposed: For that it would not be Policy, but Madness, to appoint a Magistrate for the Defence of the Lives and Liberties of the People, and to empower him to commit those Violences and Outrages himself, which he was to prevent in others. As Government is of far greater Antiquity than Writing or History, we are not to expect any particular Records or Memoirs of such original Contracts or Stipulations; but as Nature manifestly dictates, and Reason supposes, them, so every Form of Government, whose Original we have known, or have Monuments of, is a Confirmation of it.—If there are such Potentates as ascend their Thrones, or pretend to ascend them with Authority absolute and unlimited, under no Law, Condition, or Reservation on the Sub-

Subjects Side, such Government is illegal, unnatural, and inhuman; it was obtained by Fraud, Violence, or Conquest; it is an Imposition and Usurpation, which ought to be abhorred and shaken off. For it is as a Principle self-evident, that such pernicious Power could never be the voluntary Grant of the Society; but that in every Establishment of this Nature, they still retained some fundamental Rights, some Refuge, or Retreat, in Cases of Extremity, some Point or Post where they might make a Stand, and assert the Freedom of rational Animals.—Of all Reserves of this Kind *Religion* must be presumed to have had the Preference, (as this was ever looked upon as most effectual Means to Happiness both here and hereafter) and that still a *Fortiori* in a Society of *Christians*. They can never be imagined, for the Prospect of civil or temporal Advantages, to give up

their Eternal Interests, or to put it in the Power of any earthly Lord to abolish that Worship, (or Form of Worship) on which, in their Opinion, depends the Favour of an almighty Creator.—It cannot be denied, but these Principles may be turned to an evil Use, by seditious or fanatical Persons, but so likewise may the most sacred Principles of Religion be, and the more likely for being sacred; for Deformity is in most need of a Cloak or Disguise.—But be this as it will; Truth must be acknowledged; it is incontestable, that the People have a *Right*, and that where *Right* is, there ought at least to be a *Remedy*.—It is impertinent and pragmatistical to be putting Cases, and supposing Circumstances, when such *Remedy* is to be used; our own *Revolution*, and the *Revolt* of the *Seven United-Provinces*, are happy Instances that such Occasions may fall out; and it must be left to the Discretion

Discretion and Consciences of the Society to judge of the Necessity and to chuse the Means.—As Moderation and a just Impartiality is one of the most difficult Precepts of Morality, it can never be expected but rash, hot, and wrong-headed Men, will be running to extremes. There will never be wanting flattering Parasites to intoxicate the Prince with romantic Notions of Power and Prerogative, nor conceited Demagogues to lay the Train of Murmuring and Sedition, and to teach the People to look on their Governors as Enemies, to ridicule and censure their Proceedings, to vilify their Actions, and to raise Objections to their Title and Authority. But let Prince and People equally beware of these miserable Counsellors; innumerable are the Instances of unhappy Kingdoms brought to Desolation by these Dividers and Incendiaries; and oft has it happened that those

those Minions, who have laboured to deify their Sovereigns, have been the first to forsake them in their Distress ; that those Patriots, who have stunn'd the Subjects Ears with such perpetual Peals of Liberty, have been most ready to put the Chains about their Necks.

3. A third Conclusion to be drawn from the Premises is, that Obedience and Subjection are not appropriated to any one particular Form or Mode of Government ; that there is no peculiar Divinity or Sanctity in Names or Titles, but in every Country, and in every civil Constitution, the Obligation to obey the supreme Power is the same. I don't find but the Subjects are to consider their Chief Magistrate, or Legislature, by whatever Title dignified or distinguished, as their general Representative, Commissioners of their own Appointment, Trustees in whose Discretion they have agreed to repose their
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their Lives and Fortunes: So that every Act of wilful Disobedience, or undue Opposition to such Authority, is a Contravention to their own Act and Deed, a Violation of Promises and Oaths, a most perfidious Breach of Faith, and an Injury to the whole political Body, of which they are Members. It is no Wonder then that the highest Penalty is denounced in Scripture against such faithless Resisters of their lawful Rulers; no Wonder these Rulers have the Honour to be stiled *the Ordinance of God*, and to be supported in their Authority by so many Divine Commands; since they have been advanced to their high Dignities by the most solemn Engagements; since their very Office and Being is so necessary to the Happiness of Mankind in the present State of Things; since Peace, Virtue, Religion, and even common Honesty depend on their Institution. But this we may usefully observe, that

that in this same Passage (perhaps the strongest in all Scripture in Favour of Sovereignty) where *Rulers* are declared *to be the Ordinance of God*, they are also defined (with an industrious Latitude and Comprehension) *The Powers that be*. It was impossible for the Apostle to have used an Expression more suited to Times, Customs, Circumstances, nor of more prompt and proper Applications to every several State or Constitution in the World. The Flatterers of Power will rack their Inventions to shew, that there is some extraordinary Virtue and Majesty in that Name or Title, whatever it be, which is worn by their present Masters; but honest Men know, that Words are in themselves mere empty Sounds; but that, since they are made the current Coin of rational Commerce, they ought to be taken at the Value the Public is pleased to set upon them. It importeth very
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little what Letters of the Alphabet are made use of to signify, or to spell the Name of the Power that is over us ; *The Idea of Authority annexed to it is only such as known Use and the Laws of the Country have conferred upon it.* My-Business is not with absolute and arbitrary Tyrants, by what Arts they got the People into their Chains ; or what Right they have to their Submission, or how little Foundation they have to hold the Reins, either as the Ordinance of God, or the Ordinance of Man : But of legal Governments constituted by the People, formed, accepted, agreed, and sworn to by general Compact and Consent, (whether Emperor, King, or Senate, Doge or Diet, singular or plural) the Authority is still the same, and they who resist it, (unless in Cases of extreme Necessity) are Enemies to God and Traitors to the Peace of their Country. A Subject in

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Mutiny against his lawful Governors is in a State of Desertion and voluntary Outlawry; he is no longer a Member of the civil Body; he has broken the Bond of Union, and may be said to renounce the original Association, to disclaim his Part or Share in the Common Weal, and *Rebellare*, or to return into the primitive State of Independance and Hostility, and to declare a Sort of War against his Species. Let it not offend, if I speak but little better of those Magistrates, who invade the reserved Privileges of the People, and wrest into their Hands a Power, which was never designed for, nor committed to, them. If the one is a *Rebel*, the other is an *Usurper*; he possesses that which belongs to others, with these Aggravations, that he has betrayed a most important Trust, abused the Confidence placed in him, to over-reach and impose, and ungratefully

gratefully turned the Sword against those who put it into his Hands.

4. The next Remark, which comes in Course, is the Excellency of our own Constitution of Government, that it is completely *Teres atque Rotunda*, that it is arrived (as far as human Infirmary will admit) at a State of Perfection. For tho' every Form of Government be lawful, yet it may not be expedient, and those tedious and cautious Ways of making or executing Laws, which are suitable enough to a new and growing Commonwealth, will or ought to be impatiently rejected, as it comes towards Maturity. I know not how many different Schemes of *Aristocracy* or *Democracy* have been put to the Trial by *Greeks*, *Romans*, and other Nations; but they have none of them been found sufficient long to hold the Ballance, even against Conquest, Riches, Luxury and Ambition. In these Circum-

stances there is never an End of Emulation, Contention and Animosity, 'till some daring, bold and popular Man, too hard for the rest, gets himself at the Head of Affairs. This, indeed, is the best Expedient both for the quick Dispatch and Execution of the Laws at home, and for a ready and vigorous Opposition to Enemies abroad. The Danger is, that such single Power may be abused, and the great Difficulty so to guard it, that it may neither be contemptible on the one Hand, nor formidable on the other, to those who gave it. For a wise Provision of this Nature, there are not perhaps People on Earth more beholden to their Ancestors, than the Inhabitants of this Island. A Monarchy we have (according to the Course of Things, and the natural Progress of Government) gathered originally out of many smaller Dynasties; so consolidated, that the Strength of the
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whole receives Advantage by being collected to a Point; so seasoned and circumscribed, that no Member of the Body is in the least Danger from any Caprice of the Head. ---I shall spare you the Trouble of reading long Details and Encomiums on a Subject, which has been so often already handled by much better Pens. But thus much my Argument requires me to observe, that our Monarchy now is, and ever was a perfect *ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις*, *the Edifice of the People*, the Contrivance and Institution of wise Men; that it is conferred and accepted on Compact and Condition, that it is limited in Power as well as in Succession, and so guarded and fenced on the Sides both of Prerogative and Privilege, that the King can do no Harm nor the Subjects in doing it escape Punishment. And here let me once more refer you for ample Satisfaction upon this most interesting Point, to the

the historieal Essay upon the *Anglo-Saxon* Government. Tho' the Reverence due to the higher Powers, the Honour and Majesty inseparable from the Crown, together with the monstrous Absurdity of supposing the Head and Fountain of the Law to be prosecutable by his own Subjects, and in his own Courts, do all require *That the Person of the King be held sacred and inviolable*; yet are his Hands bare, and destitute of all Instruments of Wrong and Oppression, since it is impossible for him to protect an offending Favourite from the Sword of Law and Justice, and since the Subject has reserved the important Right of giving or withholding that darling Treasure, which has been too commonly made the Wages of Iniquity and the Root of all Evil. These, Sir, with others, which you are not ignorant of, are to be looked upon as fundamental Maxims, preliminary Articles, and sacred

sacred Reserves, as ancient as the first Advances towards Monarchy, more ancient than any Memoirs or Records left us by our Ancestors. The History of this Nation abundantly demonstrates, that our present Form of Government in *England*, notwithstanding all the idle Suggestions to the contrary, cannot so properly be said to be altered, as improved or ripened by Length of Time; after all the Invasions, Conquests, Wars, foreign and domestic, Rebellions, Usurpations, Abdications, and Revolutions, the main Body appears to be still the same, the first and most striking Lines and Features are yet plain and visible, with little or no Variation in Essentials, but such as are to be expected from Age, Accident, and the Circumstances of the Neighbouring States. As the Idea of Antiquity demands Veneration, and as a Constitution which has borne the Experiments of so many suc-

succeeding Ages, and weathered the Storms of so many contending Interests, must consist of solid and durable Parts, wisely connected; it is the Duty of every *Englishman* to pay a religious Regard to it; to look upon it as his Portion and Interest, and to endeavour to leave the same safe and entire to his Posterity.

5. But I will pursue these Conclusions no farther, nor detain you any longer at present, than while I point out to you the Conclusion, the Use and End of this Epistle, which is to convince you, if it may be that our present Sovereign King *George*, the Second, is, in every Sense and Acceptation of the Words, a *King de Jure*, and that never Prince did, or indeed can, wear a Crown with a more perfect, clear, and unexceptionable Title. If in your Enquiry after a *King de Jure*, you expect one of Almighty God's immediate, personal,

sonal, visible Designation and Appointment, (excepting the Kings of the *Israelites* only, who were a People under a direct Theocracy, and entirely incapable of being drawn into the Question) there neither is, nor ever was such a Person in the World; and if all Nations are to suspend their Obligations to civil Government, until they are enlightened with such a miraculous Nomination, I don't see how they can avoid returning to the State of Nature and Independancy, to Anarchy and Confusion. If the Term be understood of human Law; (and every other Sense and Construction of it is vain and delusive) if to ascend the Throne *de Jure*, be to ascend it according to the Laws of the Country, in strict Conformity to ancient Customs and Constitutions, by the Choice and Suffrage of the several States, and the united Voice of the whole civil Body, or its Representatives;

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tives; if these, I say, be the Notions of a Reign *de Jure*, if either Blood or Possession, or the Appointment of the People are sufficient to confer this illustrious Right, there never was a Prince since the first peopling of this Island, whether *Briton*, *Roman*, *Saxon*, *Dane*, or *Norman*, had a more unquestionable Title than the Prince, who now so gloriously fills the Throne.

The Crown he wears was settled on his Family (being *Protestants*) to all Generations, and that not in any sudden Tumult, Panic or Caprice, (as has been common enough in the Choice of Governors) but after the most solemn and mature Deliberation. It was not the hasty Work of an overbearing Faction among the Commons, or a Party among the Lords, but of the whole Legislature, or the whole Body Politic, as represented by it. It was not promoted by Art or Violence, by
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Chicane, Corruption, Brigue, or any personal Regards, but coolly and calmly carried into an Act after sedulous Examinations by the King in Council, and serious Debates in both Houses of Parliament. This happy Settlement was still farther confirmed and strengthened by the Act of Abjuration, and many other subsequent Recognitions of the Legislature, and it might be well expected, that a daily Acknowledgment of their high Titles and Dignities in our Devotions to *God*, might be some Security for the Sincerity of our Allegiance. But let me now ask you, Sir, by this Time, I hope, somewhat dispossessed of your old Prejudices, whether a *Jus Regnandi* can possibly be better derived, established, and attested. Surely I might safely enough venture to challenge all the *Jacobites* and Jesuits in the World to produce a Prince, who ever held the Scepter of Do-

minion upon better Terms, or against whose Accession there was less to be objected. If Government in its Nature be of the People's Institution, and ratified by *God* for their Peace and Happiness, we have here a Governor who is in the true and genuine Sense of the Words, the ἀνθρωπίνῃ κλίσει, and the θεῷ ἐξουσία, and consequently, who has the justest Right and Title to the Submission and Fidelity of his Subjects, and to all the Honour, Tribute, and Reverence enjoined in Scripture to be given the Kings and Magistrates of the Earth. A Panegyric on his personal Bravery, that most peculiar Recommendation of the primitive Kings of the World, or an Encomium on his other Virtues, as 'tis not necessary, so neither may it be so seasonable in the present Generation; but this let me observe of the present and late Reign, that they equal, if not exceed the very best in

in Moderation, Clemency, impartial Justice, and strict Conformity to the Rules and Laws of the Constitution; that there never was a Time, since the first *Roman* Invasion, when *Britain* enjoyed a ranker Liberty, a more extensive Commerce, or so copious an Affluence of all that Magnificence, Luxury, or Avarice it self can wish for from every Quarter of the Universe. Never had our Princes so good an Address in laying asleep the fatal and unchristian Feuds and Animosities betwixt Churchmen and Dissenters, or so stedfastly adhered both to the *Test* and *Toleration*, those grand Bulwarks, Balances, and Boundaries to our wise Establishment.

Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.

Now seeing these Things are so, and cannot be spoken against, how comes it to pass that we hear such loud Peals of Murmuring, and such
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Complaining in our Streets? What Party Enthusiasm or Phrensy has possessed us, that we cannot sit down and chearfully enjoy the Blessings, which on every Hand surround us? What political Vapours do we labour under, that all the Reason and Demonstration in the World cannot persuade us we are in Health? Our delusive Imaginations clothe us with Cypress and Yew; drag us into Bonds and Dungeons, and torment us with Dreams of Dangers and Evils, which never had, nor at present are likely to have a Being; we lie stretch'd on Beds of Down and Couches of Velvet, and lament the Hardiness of our Situation; we sit down to Tables spread with the Varieties of each Climate and Element, and yet repine at our Lot, like Wretches doomed to Slavery, or to eat Straw with the Ox. We complain of Poverty, and that all the Money is carrying out of the Nation
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at the very Time that we are throwing away immense Sums upon our Pleasures, and wagering whole Handfuls on the running of a Horse, the Fall of a Die, or the Turn of a Card. Our Tradesmen array themselves like Persons of Quality, and then reproach their Betters with Discouragement of Industry, and Neglect of Manufactures: Our Merchants emulate the Nobility it self in Luxury and Extravagance, and yet are perpetually declaming on the unsufferable Hardships attending Navigation and Commerce; our Gentry erect stately Palaces, and furnish them with Ornaments and Equipages, far surpassing the very Kings of their Ancestors, and yet groan like Penitents in Sackcloth and Ashes, condemned to the Mines, or chained to the Gallies. Now where shall we go for Drugs to apply to this ill Habit of Mind? With what Cordials or Lenitives shall we treat these despairing, self-

self-tormenting Patients? Their Misfortune is, they are all Ears and Credulity; the Conceitedness of their own Importance makes them ready to believe any Thing against their Superiors; they eagerly swallow, without Taste or Chewing, every Lie which is told them, and the artful Forgeries of Papists and Traitors are little less than Articles of Faith with them. As I have not the least Design to aggravate or irritate, I shall not go back to the Fables and Fictions of former Times; for never were there Instances of either a stronger or blinder Faith than our Cotemporaries afford us; who, some of them at least, assert, and are ready to maintain, *that the Son of the Pretender is a good Protestant, and offers his Service with a pious Intention to restore our Liberties, and preserve our Constitution; however, that the Invasion lately threatened, as well as the present, is all a Pretence,*

tence, a mere Court Invention to call over the Dutch, and to enslave the Nation; that a wise Prince to secure his Treasure, is conveying it out of an Island strong and almost impregnable, to place it in a small Duchy in the midst of the Continent, and surrounded with Enemies; that he is contriving to render this great Kingdom a Province to a despicable Electorate; or in other Words, that he is meditating a Scheme to exchange all the English Wheat and Barley for Hanoverian Turnip-seed, &c.

But despairing of doing any Good upon Persons under these strong Delusions, I address myself to you, Sir, who really have Eyes and Ears of your own, exhorting you to open them, to see, read, and judge for yourself. Sure I am the Subject I have laid before you, deserves your best and most industrious Attention. It is not a Question of Astronomy or Geometry, it is not a Controversy

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about squaring the Circle, or tracing the Paths of a Comet, but your Country and, give me Leave to add, your Soul likewise are both at Stake on your Sincerity, and all your Interests both in Heaven and Earth concerned in the Decision. You have taken the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy and Abjuration, and pledged all your Interest in the Favour of God, and the Promises of the Gospel, that you took them *faithfully, willingly, and sincerely, without Fraud, Equivocation, or any mental Reservation whatsoever.* Consider, Sir, these are strong Expressions, terrible Conditions, weighty Securities, and wise Men will be exceeding cautious not to make the Forfeit. A Man must be extremely absent, and lost to himself, who will not very carefully weigh and examine, how far these Obligations are binding, what Conduct they prescribe, what are the true Notions of Allegiance

legiance and Submission, and what sort of Behaviour is sufficient to fullfil them. If you consider well the Reason of the Thing, the original Nature and Ends of Government, together with the Principles, Laws and Customs of our Ancestors, in these and in every other Light imaginable, you will find his present Majesty's Title to be clear without Cloud or Scruple. You will find him to be King *de Facto & de Pacto, de Jure & de Juramento, de More & de Merito*, constituted by Law, approved by Providence, confirmed by the Oaths of every Rank and Order, and dayly recognized by each of us, as oft as we say our Prayers in Public, or partake of the least Morsel of Bread which we owe to the Establishment. *I am Sir,*

Yours, &c.

F I N I S.

